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THE WORLD TOMORROW

NRA—"Negro Removal Act"?

WILLIAM PICKENS

Pacific School of Religion Berkeley, Calif.

What the Grasshopper Leaves

HELEN G. MURRAY

Hope for the Red Man

PAUL E. PFUETZE

Along the Class-Struggle Front

NORMAN THOMAS

SEPTEMBER 28th

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Ex Cathedra

CHANCELLOR HITLER is going to ask every German to sacrifice one meal a month, or rather to eat only 17 cents worth on the first Sunday noon of every month and to donate the remainder for the unemployed. This he calls a manifestation of "German solidarity," which is to replace the smashed "Marxian solidarity." To us it appears a policy very similar to Hoover's effort to keep the unemployed alive through charity. Hoover called it the "good old American policy." In each case national pride is supposed to prompt benevolences indicative of national brotherhood, and charity is offered as a substitute for an adequate economic program.

THE attitude of New York stock brokers toward a new city tax on stock transfers, designed to provide money for unemployment relief, proves how far privileged people will go in evading their responsibilities for the underprivileged. The stock brokers are threatening to transfer the stock exchange to New Jersey in order to evade the tax. They will probably pay the tax rather than incur the expense of removal to New Jersey; but they are doing all they can to prevent an adequate taxation program. The hearings on the bills proposed by Samuel Untermeyer for unemployment relief taxation were pathetic spectacles on the whole. Every class upon which the new taxes fell was certain that there must be new taxation but equally certain that it ought to be exempted from it.

CUBA'S regime has the distinction of being more clearly a fruit of student radicalism than any recent revolutionary government. Both in China and in Spain students have been powerful in the revolutionary cause; but the Cuban government seems to rest altogether upon the support of students and the non-commissioned officers of the army. A revolutionary government faces the problem of American imperialism, even when mild liberalism of the Roosevelt variety is in the saddle at Washington. A new government cannot bring health and prosperity to the stricken economic life of Cuba if it continues to pay the staggering interest bill on American investments in Cuba. But it cannot be recognized if it does not promise to do so. Without recognition, a government in Cuba has difficulty in establishing its prestige. That is why there will probably be several more revolutionary ventures in the island republic before any appreciable degree of administrative stability is attained.

GENERAL JOHNSON seems to have thought better of his original intention to join the issue with Henry Ford. Mr. Ford has not signed the code, but the general now declares that he is fulfilling its provisions. Reports from every part of the country indicating that various public bodies were ready to boycott Ford and give their automobile business to other concerns proves that the Ford myth has lost its hold on the American people and that the Administration might have courted even more popularity than it now enjoys by adopting an uncompromising attitude toward the recalcitrant Mr. Ford.

INDICATIONS that various firms are sabotaging NRA provisions continue to increase. Some firms have abolished their time clocks and demand that employees render "voluntarily" two additional hours of service per day. The Stetson Hat Company, makers of high grade hats, is alleged to be paying its men as little as $9.80 per week. The various controversies on the labor clause of the NRA are interesting examples of conflicts between economic and political power. The Administration is on the whole playing very fair with labor, considering that labor is politically too impotent to give it much support. Nevertheless, the big industrialists have thus far proved the superiority of economic over political power by their successful defiance or circumvention of the labor provisions contained in the various NRA codes.

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THE WORLD TOMORROW

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For or Against or Neutral?

In wartime it is difficult for a belligerent to make favorable admissions concerning an enemy, and in political struggles it is not easy for an ardent partisan to evaluate accurately the record of an opposing group. Thus we find the membership of the Socialist Party now reflecting three attitudes toward the NRA and other aspects of the President's program. Some are favorably impressed with the New Deal, some are hostile, and some are neutral on the ground that Socialists should not permit themselves to be diverted from their primary task of educating and organizing for the ultimate abolition of the profit system.

Our own position may be summarized briefly in this fashion. We are enthusiastic over the progress that has been made in the elimination of child labor, the reduction of sweated labor through the establishment of a minimum wage, the shortening of working hours, the raising of the price level, and the encouragement of collective bargaining of a type which permits the workers to act through national unions. It seems to us sheer perversity not to recognize the fact that in these directions stupendous strides are being taken. But we are equally convinced that the announced program of the Administration is utterly inadequate, and that, in spite of the removal of numerous abuses, the New Deal will fail to cure the most menacing maladies of our economic order.

We can easily illustrate our position by referring to the coal industry. We hail with enthusiasm the significant victory of the NRA over the bituminous coal operators, who have long constituted the most stupid and brutal element in American industry. The new status accorded organized labor in this code represents a highly important victory for the entire nation. But, even if the agreement proves to be eminently satisfactory in operation, the problem of coal will not thereby be solved. The mines will continue to be owned privately, and coal will still be sold for private profit. Nothing short of public ownership and scientific operation through social planning will bring order out of chaos in the coal industry.

Our praise of the NRA is thus tempered by the realization that it is not enough. We should regard it as an inexcusable blunder if Socialists became so enamored of the virtues of the New Deal as to grow weary in proclaiming the incompleteness and inadequacy of its proposals. On several occasions we have pointed out potential dangers inherent in the various codes, and we shall doubtless have reason to repeat these warnings. Therefore, while we rejoice that the sod is being piled high on the grave of individualism as an economic system, and that organized labor is achieving a higher status, we are more confident than ever that President Roosevelt's program is not a satisfactory substitute for the principles and strategy of the Socialist Party.

Paul Blanshard, Ex-Socialist

Paul Blanshard, formerly an editor of the *Nation*, one-time secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy, and now director of the City Affairs Committee of New York, a research organization which has provided most of the ammunition for the critics of Tammany rule, has resigned from the Socialist Party. Mr. Blanshard's resignation is an instructive document. He declares that there is no possibility of the Socialist Party's coming to power in America and that to pretend to a mood of optimism is therefore as dishonest as if a director of an insolvent bank were to pretend that his bank is still solvent.

Mr. Blanshard has joined the La Guardia campaign staff and will undoubtedly play a very considerable role in the election and, in the event of a Fusion triumph, in La Guardia's government. Blanshard is a very able analyst of governmental, particularly municipal, problems, and in deciding to cast his lot with a movement in which the attainment of power is actually an immediate possibility he is following his natural bent and opens the possibility of applying his reforming zeal in terms of political responsibility as well as criticism of existing government. Perhaps Mr. Blanshard will be Major La Guardia's director of the budget.

All this has, of course, nothing to do with socialism. Mr. Blanshard declares that "a political party is not a church, which is based chiefly upon idealism and righteousness; it is an aggregation of citizens to exercise political power." This sentence is a complete revelation of Mr. Blanshard's political and ethical confusion. If a political party is designed for the purpose of exercising power, the question still remains: Power for what purpose? Mr. Blanshard seems to infer that power is desirable for its own sake, and that if the purpose for which it is desired is incompatible with its immediate attainment, it is logical and necessary to sacrifice the purpose so that the party may come into office.

Mr. Blanshard's confession proves conclusively that a Socialist party must be something more than a political party. If it does not have a religious zeal for its cause and the attendant confidence in its ultimate victory, it will not be able to persist through the years of hardships until its final goal is reached. Mr. Blanshard's attitude is typical of that kind of pragmatic intellectualism which finds confidence in the attainment of ultimate goals irrational and therefore modifies its demands to some immediately attainable objectives. Naturally these immediately attainable objectives are some slight reforms in the administration of capitalist politics, and thus your realist, who disavows the religious hopes of socialism as romantic overbeliefs, turns into a romanticist who imagines that he can seriously affect the character of modern life by throwing Tammany out of office.

All this does not mean that the Socialist Party as now constituted is in any sense certain to be the political instrument which will lead America to socialism. But if it is not, that fact will be discovered by critics and radicals who will bring the party into greater conformity with its revolutionary task or create a party which does have the resources to deal with the political situation in radical terms. It will not be revealed by critics who turn from socialism to Major La Guardia.

Mr. Blanshard must be put down merely as an honest reformer who strayed into the Socialist Party through some kind of misapprehension and who has now found the proper sphere for the expression of his natural and honest political convictions and reforming zeal.

Except Municipal Plants

An unconscious and significant admission is made by the New York *Times* in its report of the new rates announced at Muscle Shoals. Mr. Lilienthal, of the Tennessee Valley Authority of the United States Government, on September 14 announced that the rates for residence consumers of electricity would be from three cents to one cent per kilowatt, depending upon the quantity used, the assumption being that the rate would be two cents for the "typical general consumer." The *Times* says that these rates are the lowest ever offered to any community in the United States—*"except for a few municipally-owned plants."* What an admission!

A news item appeared in the New York *Times* the next day, from which the following words are taken: "Heavy selling of public utility stocks and bonds occurred on the security markets yesterday. . . . Consternation was expressed. . . . There was particular perturbation because of the effect that Mr. Lilienthal's statement might have on the electorate of Birmingham, Ala., which will vote next month on the issue of municipal distribution of power, and on the voters of Memphis and Nashville. . . ." And on the voters of Chicago and Detroit, Boston and New York City!

U. S. Minister to the League?

There is much discussion in Geneva concerning the possibility that the Government of the United States may be represented by a resident Minister to the League of Nations. No confirmation can be secured from Washington, but the report persists.

This is a highly important proposal, and we hope it will be acted upon. We have long advocated the entrance of this country into the League, but since this step is not politically practicable at the moment, we look with much favor upon the suggestion of having an official representative stationed at the seat of the League. We cannot think of any legitimate objection to such a procedure. America would not thereby be drawn into any entanglements under Article 10 or Article 16, and would retain its right to complete freedom of action.

The advantage of such an official recognition of the League, while not equivalent to actual membership, would be substantial. Our representatives at Geneva would be enabled to abandon the back-door policy which has so often proved embarrassing. As a matter of fact, the Government of the United States has frequently been represented in an official capacity at many League gatherings, and it is highly desirable that this practice be extended. An American Minister or High Commissioner at Geneva would help to strengthen the League during the critical days to come.

This is perhaps a convenient place to discuss the contention of many radicals that no hope should be placed in the League, since it is a clearing-house of imperialist nations and merely enables them more effectively to exploit weaker peoples. That the League is dominated by France and Great Britain is obvious, and that these countries are now governed by imperialistic administrations is not open to question. But this is not the entire story. Does the existence of the League place the smaller nations more completely at the mercy of the great powers? Or does it, in spite of the preponderant influence of the latter in its deliberations, afford more security to small countries than they would be able to achieve without the assistance of the League?

The answer of the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Switzerland, and other weaker powers is immediate and unequivocal. They are ardent advocates of the League and look upon it as their chief bulwark against external aggression. The evidence seems conclusive that if the League of Nations did not exist, the imperialist powers would be less hampered in their exploitation than is now the case. So long as most of the great powers are governed by capitalist administrations, the League will be weak as an instrument of peace and coöperation. But in a world of capitalist governments it is better to have the League than not to have it.

Fellowship of Socialist Christians

At Brookwood Labor College, on September 11 and 12, two score members of the Fellowship of Socialist Christians engaged in discussion as to how religious and radical forces may coöperate more effectively in furthering the Socialist movement. Most of the delegates are members of the Socialist Party and all of them approach economic problems from the angle of religion. There was general agreement that the Fellowship should become a more disciplined body and that its members should throw themselves energetically into the struggle of the workers against capitalist exploitation. On the question of strategy the group was divided, some holding a catastrophic view of history, and others envisaging revolutionary progress by successive stages. Emphasis was placed on the fact that genuine Christianity affords a charter and dynamic for revolutionary action. A continuation committee was authorized to proceed with a program of action, its membership including Reinhold Niebuhr, Winnifred Wygal, Frank Wilson, Roswell Barnes, Bradford Young, Evelyn Orne Young, John Bennett, Henry P. Van Dusen and Francis A. Henson. Communications may be addressed to Mr. Henson at 304 Crown Street, New Haven, Connecticut.

War Debts Again to the Fore

With the sailing on September 24 of British representatives to discuss the question of war debts with the State Department in Washington, this explosive problem again commands headlines. It is high time that the American public awoke to a full realization of the enormous significance attached to this question by the debtor governments of Europe. The sums of money involved are large, but the political and psychological aspects are far more formidable.

For more than a decade now THE WORLD TOMORROW has been howling to high heaven against the debt policy of the government of the United States, and year by year our doleful prophecies have been validated by subsequent events. The efforts to collect reparation and war debts have wrought immeasurable havoc throughout the world, and have intensified international tensions to a perilous degree. The available evidence fully supports the categorical assertion that economic and political security cannot be achieved until the slate is wiped clean of war debt payments. This would have been done long ago, with illimitable gains for all peoples concerned, if the United States had not maintained its pound-of-flesh policy. The debtor nations owe the money, and legally they are obliged to pay. But, aside from Great Britain, they have thus far paid only a small fraction of the sums due, and now all of them, including Great Britain, are adamant in their refusal to carry out the various funding agreements. If the United States continues its efforts to make collections, wholesale and permanent defaults will be the result. The unadorned truth is that this country simply cannot collect these sums, and further endeavors will result only in fanning the flames of international hostility. It is cheaper and safer to bow to the inevitable, now that our opportunity to make a graceful gesture of reconciliation has in this regard already passed.

The ascendency of Hitlerism has added grave complications to this whole problem. The reparation policy of France, supported by the debt policy of the United States, was a primary factor in producing the situation which catapulted the Nazis into power. Further efforts to collect reparation payments are not only doomed to failure, but might quickly precipitate an even more catastrophic explosion than we have yet witnessed. With reparation payments ended forever, it is futile to anticipate debt payments from France to England and the United States.

There is yet time to avert a cataclysmic end of the debt problem, but a quick reversal of the debt-collection policy of the United States is demanded by the emergency.

Spain Turns to the Right

On September 3, in an election for the Tribunal of Constitutional Guarantees, 10 municipal districts out of 15 in Spain voted against the representatives of the present cabinet, whereupon, a few days later, Premier Manuel Azaña resigned. The Tribunal is an important body, charged with the task of determining the constitutionality of laws passed by the Cortes, or parliament, and having supervision over various features of election procedure. The gains shown by monarchist and Right republican elements in this election were more significant than those of the previous municipal elections several months ago, during which, despite a swing against the government, the Left parties made heavy inroads on communities they had formerly never touched.

As anticipated, President Alcalá Zamora summoned, finally, the elderly leader of the conservative republican forces, Alejandro Lerroux, who proceeded to take over the reins of government. Azaña was strong enough to exact, however, definite pledges from Lerroux that the new premier would carry on with the execution of the laws against clerical domination of the republic and on behalf of the labor and agrarian program. Lerroux doubtless recognized that on these points he must capitulate formally, because the Azaña republican alliance, despite the breaking away of certain supporters, is still very powerful; and also because the Socialist Party, which likes Lerroux not at all, is more powerful still. It remains to be seen whether this sort of political promise has any more validity with a Spanish conservative, once in power, than it has had in past experience in other countries.

Lerroux himself is very far to the Right, but has demonstrated ability as an administrator.

The shift has its compensations. It has put to an end a rather unhappy coalition regime, which, if it had lasted too long, might easily have placed the Socialists in a position akin to that of Socialist parties in other countries where collaboration has proved disastrous. As matters stand, the Socialists, chiefly because they control vast trade union bodies, aggregating 1,200,000 members, can probably combine industrial action with political power to stave off a reactionary *coup d'état,* and can sweep forward with their enlarging organization unhindered by a split, the growth of which had become manifestly dangerous to unity. With a tripled membership, with a strong and loyal body of Socialist youth, with a huge mass of alert workers behind them, and with 110 members in the Cortes, the Socialist Party of Spain is equipped for impressive action. It is, in a sense, the special custodian of the revolution.

Toward a Maximum Wage

Economic tides are sweeping us on toward the maximum wage, as well as the minimum wage. The latest conspicuous illustration is furnished by the "voluntary" reduction in his own salary by Gerhard M. Dahl, chairman of the B. M. T. subway line in New York City. Mr. Dahl's former annual salary of $135,000 was first cut to $90,000, and later to $40,000—a reduction of 70 per cent within six months.

Why did this corporation official suddenly become so solicitous for the interests of his stockholders? Primarily because of the growing volume of public criticism and resentment of high-salaried officers of companies that are unable or unwilling to deal squarely with their employees, stockholders and customers. So widespread and dynamic is this indignation that the Administration in Washington feels warranted in demanding that railway corporations expecting aid from the government drastically reduce and limit to a fixed maximum all salaries of their higher officials. In response to the "request" of Joseph B. Eastman, coordinator of transportation, the Association of Railway Executives has replied that, with one exception, all the railway companies have fixed $60,000 a year as the maximum salary to be paid. The recalcitrant corporation is the Pennsylvania Railroad, and the country is eagerly watching developments in this struggle between Mr. Atterbury and Mr. Eastman.*

A significant aspect of this discussion is found in the admission by Mr. Eastman that the financial saving resulting from the lowering of salaries in the higher brackets is inconsequential in relation to the total budgets of the various companies. Nevertheless, he insists that such reductions are imperatively demanded for psychological reasons.

As the power of government over business becomes more extensive, the demand for maximum salaries is certain to become more insistent. Governmental assistance of numerous varieties is becoming so essential to business corporations that they will be compelled to bow to the public demand for salaries that are not disproportionately larger than those paid to public officials.

The trend toward maximum salaries is in the right direction, but it should be suplemented by agitation for maximum income. On economic, political and moral grounds the thesis is unassailable that while millions are in want no invididual should be permitted to grab an excessive share of the common store. Under present circumstances should the maximum income which is morally justifiable be fixed at $20,000 per year, or at $10,000, or at a lower figure?

Hands Off Cuba

American intervention constitutes the most serious threat to the success of Cuba's revolution. It is not the only threat. No one but a fatuous optimist could expect the welter of forces unleashed by the fall of Machado to be ordered and channelled without danger or difficulty. Serious disorder, some degree of temporary social disintegration, may be inevitable. But Cuba is competent, if given time, as was Mexico two decades ago, to set its house to rights and to achieve the political and economic reconstruction it so urgently needs. But how much time, how much freedom is Washington disposed to grant this Cuban revolution?

Behind the succession of shifting governments—the moderate De Cespedes cabinet, the Committee of Five supported by soldiers and students, and now President Grau San Martin—lies something more significant than "just another Latin-American revolution." A new spirit of independence is alive in Cuba today; an urge for political independence, free from the trammels of the Platt Amendment; a demand for economic independence, with American capital under Cuban control and the land turned back into the hands of the people. This spirit has found expression most clearly in the programs of the students and the ABC. But it extends far beyond the narrow numerical limits of these groups.

Certainly few countries today need more than Cuba a real revolution—a thorough overhauling of their economic and social structure. The people's former political subjection to Machado's shotgun tyranny is matched only by their economic subjection to American corporations. An estimated 60 per cent of the country's arable land, the bulk of its mineral resources, its banks and public utilities, a large share of its railroads are the fief of United States capital. Though under Spain the Cuban was excluded from government posts, he was at least the owner of the island's wealth. Now "independence" has given him the government, but the country is owned by foreigners. He may still of course

*Mr. Atterbury surrenders! News just received indicates that he has "requested" a reduction to $60,000.

hire out to the foreign capitalist. But a day's cane-cutting under the tropical sun earns 10 to 25 cents. No "forgotten man" in any nation has a more imperious right to a new deal than the Cuban *guajiro*.

The news of the student and soldier revolt first awakened in the Roosevelt administration symptoms of wild alarm. There was the hurried dispatch to "Cuban waters" of an ominous armada, the concentration of marines, the gallant dash to Havana of Secretary Swanson. This initial jumpiness, however, soon passed; and Washington became almost as calm as Cuba. Neither President Roosevelt nor Secretary Hull, it is evident, wants intervention; and for quite practical as well as sentimental reasons. Such a step would constitute a death-blow to the new campaign for Latin-American goodwill. It would condemn the coming Pan-American conference at Montevideo to as resounding a failure as the recent international obsequies in London. The hopes for inter-American trade expansion would die aborning. Cuban intervention further would force Washington into a humiliating *volte-face* in its Manchurian policy, much to the ironical satisfaction of Japan.

So heavy are the manifest costs of intervention that Washington has witnessed the seizure by Cuban workers of 36 sugar-mills, mostly American-owned, without ordering a single marine ashore. Such restraint is praiseworthy. Yet Cuban politics continues confused, and intervention is not yet out of the question. If it comes, it will be justified evidently by the alleged necessity of protecting American lives rather than American property. But is intervention the only means which will insure the lives of Americans and other foreigners in Cuba? Past experience indicates that it is not.

The best way to protect American lives in Cuba is to take them out of danger, should disorders eventuate. That is easier, cheaper and surer than intervention. The naval vessels now idling off the Cuban coast could thus be given useful employment. Or if they proved inadequate or uncomfortable, a passenger liner or two might be chartered. Such proffered government protection could be refused by Americans only at the cost of remaining in Cuba at their own risk. The citizens of European nations could be extended the same offer. Less expensive than intervention would be a government bonus to those Americans in Cuba who abandon their sugar. It would be quite as sensible as paying Americans in the South to plow under their cotton.

The policy suggested is neither new nor novel. It has been followed (save for the "bonus" feature) by the United States in China, and was applied to Honduras and Nicaragua in 1931. To United States citizens in the latter country Secretary Stimson announced that Washington could not "undertake general protection of Americans" throughout the country and advised all those feeling insecure "to withdraw from the country or at least to the coast towns."

A non-intervention policy will not guarantee American property in Cuba against all loss. But neither does intervention. Let any doubting Thomas page American property-owners in Nicaragua. And neither does American commercial policy. No Cuban revolution can hope to equal the American sugar tariff in harm done to United States investments.

A clear-cut policy of non-intervention, if supplemented by the repeal of the Platt Amendment, would assure to Cuba a substantial degree of real self-determination. It would effectively demonstrate to Latin-America the sincerity of Washington's "good neighbor" policy, and keep the way open for continuing progress in the development of a many-sided program of inter-American coöperation.

The Anti-Nazi Boycott

Several American Jews have come back from recent tours of Germany with the conviction that the boycott against Nazi anti-Semitism is not going to be effective. The fact is that the Nazis have created a mythology in which the Jew is cast in the role of the devil, and more particularly in the role of the enemy of Germany. The natural inclination of Jews in the outside world to come to the aid of their co-religionists can therefore easily be used to support the Nazi doctrine and to prove that the Jews are enemies of the Fatherland. The boycott may possibly accelerate the disintegration of the Fascist state by multiplying its economic difficulties, but it will not help the Jews. The Nazis have inoculated the Germans with enough anti-Semitic poison to last far longer than the official rule of Hitlerism.

It becomes a question, therefore, whether, viewed strictly from the standpoint of Jewish interests, the boycott is not a method for satisfying vindictive passions for Jews outside of Germany rather than an effective instrument for the emancipation of German Jews. Such a conviction does not imply that a boycott ought not on occasion to be used to achieve political and social ends. But it is clearly a weapon of political conflict, and there are situations in which conflict is not the means of achieving the desired social objective. The Jewish problem in Germany would seem to be such a situation. Incidentally, Einstein's disavowal of his pacifist convictions and his advice to the Belgians and the French to arm against Germany is bound to add fuel to the flames of Nazi hatred.

Gentiles have no right to criticize the Jewish boycott if they do not exert every resource to combat Nazi anti-Semitism. It is clear that moral opposition to the bigotry of the Nazis on the part of Christians would be more effective than any economic pressure which the Jews may be able to exert.

Dear Doctor Einstein

SIXTEEN years ago, the people of the United States were engaged in a war, as most of them believed, to preserve democracy and freedom from annihilation at the hands of a ruthless German government. We were among the minority who opposed that war, not merely because we could not share the prevailing view of the Allied nations as innocent and the Central Powers as solely to blame, but even more because we believed the war method could never eradicate militarism from Germany or save democracy for the world. Today, notwithstanding the Allies' victory, German militarism is again in the saddle and democracy is everywhere in jeopardy.

Such an outcome was not readily discernible in 1917 to the eyes of those who desperately feared a German conquest. As the pressure of that fear descended over the nation, weighted by official propaganda, we saw one pacifist comrade after another swept into support of the war by the tide of military violence. Many of these had long protested their pacifism and had preached the doctrine of love for enemies; but they could not withstand by a general faith the concrete appeal of war and the presence of a menacing foe.

You will forgive us, then, if we say that we felt a similar loss when you, who so nobly served the pacifist cause by your open espousal of it under any and all conditions, recently shifted your position. When you anticipated that Belgian war resisters would be "greatly astonished" by what you were about to write them, you were correct; for even if you had come to that crossroads of the mind where honest men can only speak with frankness, pacifists had the right to expect from you the most cogent of reasons, the most profound of arguments. Yet you wrote as follows:

> A little while ago one could have hoped to fight militarism in Europe successfully by individually refusing to serve in the army. But today we are in the presence of entirely different circumstances. There is in the centre a state (Germany) which publicly is preparing for war by every means. Under these conditions some countries, particularly France and Belgium, find themselves in very great danger and they can only count upon their own preparation. . . . That is why I tell you frankly, "If I were a Belgian I would not refuse military service under the present circumstances, but I would, on the contrary, accept it with a clear conscience with the sentiment of a contribution toward securing European civilization." This does not mean that I renounce my previous opinion. I desire nothing more than to see the moment come when refusal of military service will be the means for an efficacious struggle for the progress of humanity.

What your letter declares is centrally this: that war resistance of individuals is to be considered purely as an individual influence; that its social utility is limited to those periods and circumstances when there is no serious threat from a reckless antagonist; that military victory, so futile 15 years ago, would in 1933 accomplish toward the security of Europe what it failed so signally to do before.

Stirred by regret rather than irritation, we are compelled to say in utter candor that this is no argument at all. It constitutes, instead, an incredibly naïve evasion of every important issue. As you extraordinarily have forgotten, war resisters never expected individual war resistance to stop wars or prevent them; yet the brave men who have resisted the war system through their unflinching opposition have been of the greatest pragmatic value in keeping alive the method of uncompromising non-coöperation with war and paving the way for the adoption of that method by important labor, religious, and educational organizations throughout the world. These, even with their present strength and partial conviction, have already on several occasions prevented wars which might have developed into ghastly conflicts of large dimensions.

WE hold no brief, of course, for Hitlerism. But what created Hitlerism so much as those very policies of increased armaments, enforcement of unfair judgments, rampant militarism, and stern vindictiveness which have characterized the program of enbattled France? That German public which follows the flashing will-o'-the-wisp of the hooked cross is simply carrying to absurdity (or rather, pathology) the selfsame principles which have been urged consistently since the war on the French and Belgian people by their governments. Even now, a war for any reason might eliminate Hitler; but it could never wipe out Hitlerism.

In 1929 you revealed a courage which we know you still possess, but an insight we fear you have temporarily lost, when you stated in the suppressed Czech journal, *Die Wahrheit,* that in another war you would

> unconditionally refuse to do war service, direct or indirect, and would try to persuade my friends to take the same stand, regardless of how the cause of the war should be judged.

We commend to you the clarity of those views. They were sane in 1929; they are sane in 1933. Their rationality thousands of war resisters the world around, unshaken, will continue to attest. Without bitterness, though with profound sorrow, these men and women will cease to follow you. They will, on the contrary, pit themselves even more vigorously, unblinded, against militarism and war: militarism, as international as disease; war, as ubiquitous as death.

Along the Class-Struggle Front

NORMAN THOMAS

THERE are two aspects of the New Deal, or more particularly of the NRA, which are closely related but not identical. One is economic and the other is social. In purely economic terms it is by no means certain that we are going to win through to even a temporary recovery under the state capitalism which has been set up. A 25 per cent increase towards recovery, if it has taken place, is by no means enough. The relief outlook for millions of the unemployed is very black. The farmers are complaining that the prices of what they buy are rising faster than the prices of what they sell in spite of the aid of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The public works program is getting into action very slowly. The burden of debt piles up. For these and other reasons the cry for more direct inflation than we have yet had is again heard in the land. Heretofore President Roosevelt has been trying to get by without direct inflation. He has counted upon what some people call psychological inflation, upon Federal Reserve Bank action to liberalize bank credits, upon the effect of going off the gold standard—an effect mostly to be discerned in the prices of goods, like cotton and wheat, which are fixed in the foreign markets. More than that will likely be necessary.

Of the presidential candidates, only I maintained that directed and controlled inflation or reflation would be preferable to a continuance of deflation. I still think so. But I know that inflation is not an unmixed good; that its blessings, such as they are, and its curses, fall indiscriminately on the just and on the unjust. That is why I have been urging upon labor organizations that they seek to have written into the various codes a provision that wages fixed in the codes will rise automatically with the price index. And I still insist that inflation cannot be carried to a point adequate to reduce our total burden of debt—a staggering amount, by the way, which consumed at least 20 per cent of the national income last year—without danger. The capital levy is still in order.

Perhaps this whole matter may briefly be summed up by saying that even sooner than I had thought, the economic difficulties of bringing about recovery without boldly facing the necessity of downright redistribution of national income, based on shifts in *ownership* of natural resources and the means of production, have become apparent.

Meanwhile, however, the NRA is having definite social results and is helping to provide us with the means of power through the encouragement it has given to the organization of labor. That is going on with astonishing rapidity, especially when one considers the backward state of many of the A. F. of L. unions and the lack of an adequate corps of trained organizers. In spite of the immense degree of bootlegging under the codes, in spite of the ever-present danger that racketeers will edge in to new forms of labor organization, in spite of a long list of difficulties which I might enumerate, labor is unquestionably forging ahead, and the sympathies of the higher officers of the Administration have been with it. It was a real gain when the Board of Labor Mediation decided that workers could be represented in negotiations by representatives of regular unions, not necessarily fellow employees.

UNFORTUNATELY this attitude of the higher officers in Washington is by no means universally reflected in localities. In Wilmington, Delaware, a Mayor who was elected as a New Deal Democrat, but who acts very much like a Dupont Democrat, took occasion to explain quite gratuitously that NRA meant "no rebel America." In the industrial state of New Jersey the chairman of the State NRA Board is a certain Colonel Eisner, regarded by labor as a sweatshop employer, who has now on his hands a bitter strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. They make a very damaging case against him for hiding sweatshop conditions behind the Blue Eagle. This is the sort of thing, or rather it is one of the things, some of us have in mind when we talk of the danger of Fascist development under the NRA.

In the long run, and not so very long a run either, it all comes down to the capacity of labor to organize intelligently and to act together. Our immediate concern is with the kind of organization we shall get on the industrial field, but political organization is at least equally important. Nothing that the Democratic Party, and certainly nothing that the dazed and defeated Republicans have done, has altered in the least the Socialist contention that there must be a new political alignment in America so that the interests of the producing masses—those who toil with hand and brain in professions, in schools, on farms, in mines, in factories and offices—will be effectively represented. We cannot trust any Gabriel over or in the White House to take the place of this responsible party organization. Failure to achieve it is almost an invitation to fascism. We scarcely deserve the luck we have had so far in that fascism has not made greater progress.

IT is highly important to emphasize this point now because of a disquieting tendency on the part even of our friends to talk Left but to act Right; to praise Russia and be somewhat skeptical of socialism as perhaps not radical enough, and then to rush off and support a reformist, such as La Guardia in New York, or, as Upton Sinclair seems to be doing, to try to capture a Democratic nomination for Governor on an ill-thought out program of immediate Socialist measures. Paul Blanshard's defection to Major La Guardia in New York City is a real loss and a striking illustration of our impatient unwillingness to build up the instrumentalities which are absolutely essential if we are to have a halfway democratic procedure toward a genuine coöperative commonwealth. Nearly all our intellectuals applaud Lincoln Steffens' demonstration that in America Tammany politics is an essential part of the capitalist system and that no conventional good-government movement is worth much or can win in the long run; then off they rush to support La Guardia, who has companions on his own ticket and a Republican backing even worse than has been customary in Fusion history. La Guardia himself is more and more being forced into a mere anti-Tammany candidacy without any constructive program or platform. More and more circumstances, including the Untermyer tax program, are forcing the Major, who was pretty radical in Congress but who can always be trusted to line up with the regulars in a pinch in peace or war, into a position where he is the candidate of those who believe that good government means cheap government. The positive Socialist platform and the downright loyalty to it of the ticket headed by Solomon, Crosswaith, and Laidler demands the support of all those who really mean business when they say we have to have a new political alignment to take advantage of the opportunities fate and the NRA have brought us.

I am aware, of course, that the disappointing record of the British Labor Party and the more tragic record of the German Social Democracy in terms of genuine achievement cast some doubt upon what I have said concerning the Socialist hope. Unquestionably we Socialists must recognize the facts and learn from the failures of our comrades as well as from their successes. Professor Calvin Hoover has just written a book entitled "Germany Enters The Third Reich" (Macmillan) which is, if anything, even better than his earlier study of Russia. It is an invaluable book for those of us who would get below the surface into the forces which made Hitlerism possible. It makes it clear that Nazi strength in Germany admits no simple explanation. Hitler had the support of certain industrialists, but on the whole the big industrialists did not really want him or think that he would come into power. Doubtless they preferred him to genuine socialism or communism. That's about all. No thoughtful reader can consider what Professor Hoover sets forth concerning the extraordinary growth of the Nazi movement in Germany without finding some parallels as well as some differences here in America. Undeniably Professor Hoover is right in saying that the unexpected weakness both of Communists and Socialists helped to give Hitler his chance. Yet both were far stronger than in America. Perhaps he is a little less than fair in presenting some of the difficulties the German Socialists faced, difficulties which Kirby Page has recently set forth in these pages. Yet it is the business of any movement to which the future belongs to conquer difficulties.

NEITHER Professor Hoover's studies nor any other information at my disposal seems to warrant the popular and uncritical statement that the German Social Democrats failed because democracy is impossible. By putting a very constitutional and mechanical conception of democracy ahead of socialism, I think our German comrades weakened their power to serve genuine democracy as well as socialism. It was not democracy that required the German Social Democrats in the early days of their revolution to leave old imperialist officials in office, to fail to take advantage of opportunities for pushing Socialist propaganda and Socialist action, or to use or apologize for the tactics of Noske and overlook the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. It was not democracy which was responsible for a general lack of vigor of plan and execution in Socialist program. It was not democracy which was responsible, to some extent in the Party and to a greater extent in the German labor unions, for the growth of a division which unnecessarily separated skilled from unskilled workers, and both from farmers and from others who thought of themselves as members of the middle class when in reality they were workers. Yet the German Socialists did love the peace of the world. They did love racial toleration and the democracy, the loss of which is a tragedy not only to them but to all mankind. It is for us to share their highest enthusiasm and to seek to avoid their mistakes.

The majority of the American delegates to the International Conference of Socialists in Paris bring back a none too optimistic report. The Conference did not give clear leadership in the struggle against fascism or against international war. The reasons for this are well set forth in the report of the majority of the American delegates. The fact that so excellent a report was made is in itself a sign of hope. The last thing we want to do in a country as nationalistic as America is to scrap international association just because in this hour of rampant nationalism no trumpet in clear tones calls us to the ideal alignment in behalf of the Federated Coöperative Commonwealths of mankind.

NRA—"Negro Removal Act"?

WILLIAM PICKENS

AT a state meeting of school officials in Alabama, called to consider the financial plight of public education in that commonwealth, the following resolution was presented: "That the State Superintendent of Education and the Governor of Alabama use whatever influence their abilities and their high offices may provide to secure financial aid from the Federal government to the end that the effects of the existing school emergency be minimized and the rights of Alabama's children restored at the earliest possible moment."

To this resolution C. H. Young, secretary of the Anniston school board, made the following objection, followed by a "wave of applause": "We don't need Federal interference"; and he warned that the national government does not "recognize any color line" and that a Federal bureaucracy would be set up to control the situation.

Dr. Harmon, another Alabama educator, defended the resolution, pointing out the desperate need of Alabama schools, but offering the usual apologies by protesting his undying belief in "Southern ideals and traditions." He explained that the Federal government had in the past given funds and lands for the benefit of state education and had not interfered to see that the money was equitably divided between the races, and showed that the Negroes of Alabama had been able to get only a small fraction of such benefits.

This defensiveness of the South against any remedy of the depression which will incidentally improve the relative position of the Southern Negro, was exhibited at the same time in the Contractors' Code, which was presented under the guidance of the NRA at Washington. These employers, including those spending public funds on large construction projects, first declare a minimum wage of 40 cents an hour, to which they immediately add this little joker: That wherever the minimum wage was less than 40 cents an hour on July 15, 1932, the minimum wage shall be 30 cents an hour. That exception exempts the great body of contractors, and the point of time given selects the very bottom of the wage curve for 30,000 Negro laborers on the Mississippi Flood Control projects, whose wages were 10 cents an hour.

But lest you rejoice too soon that this NRA code of the contractors will at least raise the wages of these exploited Negoes from 10 cents to 30 cents, read first this further provision: "Nothing herein contained shall be construed to apply to employees whose rates of wages are established for specific projects by competent governmental authority in accordance with law or with rates of wages established by contracts now in force." This tangled wilderness of verbiage means simply that the 10 cents an hour of the Negroes working on the "specific projects" of the Mississippi Flood Control need not be raised to 30 cents, as these wage rates were long ago "established by contracts now in force." The low wages which these black field hands up and down the Mississippi Valley accepted in lieu of starvation, are now to be preserved for the benefit of the contractors with the sacredness of law and upheld by the strong arm of the State.

The code-makers are not even satisfied with that quantity of verbal security for their low wage scale: like smart lawyers they recast it again in other phrases and in various synonyms, so that it cannot possibly be interpreted against them. They exclude from minimum wage and maximum hour protection "those engaged in cases of emergency work requiring the protection of life and property." They remembered that when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations attacked the 10-cent wage and the 12-to-18-hour day a year ago, this "emergency" protection of "life and property" was the excuse and the refuge of the government and the contractors, although the work was then far ahead of schedule, which ought to minimize its emergency nature. The enthusiasm for the problematical risks of "life and property" in general showed no respect for the certain risk of life, health and property on the part of these 30,000 exploited laborers. That Alabama official was not much in error who banked on non-interference by the national government in behalf of local justice, even where money from the Federal treasury is being expended.

CONSISTENT with this idea of not advancing the Negro's status, one of the first effects of the NRA program to raise wages is to oust many Negroes from employment altogether. A manufacturing concern in Memphis, Tenn., was employing colored women for $4.50 a week, and they worked eight hours and 45 minutes each day. Some of the women had worked seven, eight and nine years, steadily and satisfactorily, for this company. But when the firm "joined up" with the NRA, cutting the day to eight hours and raising the pay to $12 per week, its 14 Negro women were displaced by white workers. Some of these women were widows, supporting children, and their dismissal without cause was pathetic.

The Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* tells of a local restaurant that dismissed its Negro employees and hired Caucasians as soon as wages were raised under the code. This paper, as quoted in the New York *Times,* "fears that thousands of Negroes engaged as porters, janitors, elevator men, messengers, drivers and the like will be ousted throughout the country by employers who hire Negroes at present because they can get them cheap," but who "would prefer white labor." A Norfolk daily frankly stated that "the Blue Eagle may be a predatory bird" to the Negro worker.

THE excuse given for this discrimination is that white workers are more efficient and productive than colored workers. But the flaw in that excuse is the indisputable fact that not *all* white workers are more efficient and productive than *all* colored workers. Any discrimination should be based on individual efficiency and merit, and not on "race and color." Then there would always be some Negro employees, though relatively fewer than the white, in all wage brackets. To base a regulation on "race" and on "efficiency" at the same time is manifestly absurd. The New York *Times* of September 10 quotes an Atlanta Blue Eagle employer as saying: "This company does not base wages on color but entirely on efficiency," and that in his opinion "the efficiency of colored help is only 50 per cent of that of white help." He proceeded therefore to notify all his Negro workers that their NRA wages would be lower than the wages of his white help—in spite of the fact that his most efficient Negro help must have been far more deserving than his least efficient white employee. This "averaging up" is the essence of racial discrimination: justice to individuals cannot be satisfied by decimal points.

Though it is an indirect acknowledgment of the existence of the evil, it is encouraging to note protest by Southern whites against this discrimination. The Macon *Telegraph* calls it "a business proposition" for Georgians "to see to it that Negroes are given as good a break as any one else gets in the readjustments of wages." Even though that statement may not mean equal wages, it is an argument for equal proportionate improvement and against dismissal and displacement. In addition to its plea for justice already cited, the Norfolk *Virginia-Pilot* of August 15 quotes with praise and approval the following resolution adopted by Norfolk laundrymen, who are among the largest employers of Negro labor in that city: "We will continue to employ the same proportion of colored workers to white workers, and will not replace any colored workers with white workers because of the increased rate of pay."

It is not possible to investigate and verify all of the many reported cases of the displacement of Negro workers, but one very reputable authority casually found 50 such cases in Atlanta. In Cincinnati a chain store raised the wages of its white girl employees but not of its colored girl employees. The Negro is by no means immune against the same evil in the North. As soon as a New Castle (Pa.) hotel raised wages, it dismissed its eight Negro employees and hired whites. Kansas City (Mo.) reports similar dismissals. The Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People found it desirable to write to the larger employers of Negro labor and elicit assurances that they would not dismiss the Negroes when wages were raised. Lamentable discriminations were discovered in The Century of Progress Fair grounds on the part of the concessionaires.

The most sinister aspect of the situation in the South is the well-known disposition of some communities to use terrorism or physical violence to compel the acquiescence of the Negro in the discrimination against him. In one Alabama town the Negro preachers and other colored leaders have been told to advocate a lower wage for Negroes and to make such requests to the NRA heads on threat of being run out of town. Some chose to be run out. And local Negro humor interpreted NRA as meaning "Negro Removal Act."

SO far very little has been elicited from the NRA heads on this aspect of the problem. Most of them have refused even to answer letters. Miss Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor, has been more responsive She gave public expression, in unambiguous language, to her opposition to any sectional wage scale, with lower wage rates for the Southern areas, which she said are "presumably based on the predominance of Negro labor in those districts." And she buttressed her position with the inexorable logic that "colored workers are also consumers."

The Negroes comprise from a fourth to a half of the population in most Southern states. Real prosperity for the South without prosperity for its Negro citizens is impossible. But progress always meets the persistent desire to leave the Negro out. When some wanted a high age limit for child labor, it was the same: little Negroes should not be barred from work; they were desired in field and kitchen. The progress of compulsory education suffered the same embarrassment. It was not desired to compel Negro children to go to school and so compel the school authorities to provide schools for them to go to. And even when the law was finally passed, it was left full of loopholes through which the Negro child could be slipped out to pick cotton or to wash dishes. Avaricious white parents took advantage of their "equal rights" under the Constitution—and the results are apparent today in the literacy figures of the South. The NRA will not function well as a Negro Removal Act. Prosperity will have to be shared with the Negro or it will be innocently undermined by him.

Worms Can't Cry

(On seeing a bread-line)

I CANNOT eat,
I cannot sleep;
A constant beat way down deep,
A mad man's rhythm
Urges on my blood,
Surges in a flood:
"Worms can't cry," it breaks to me—
"Worms can't cry,"
"Worms can't cry."

I who feel the sun-rays
Tingling down my spine,
I who see the blue sky
Curving toward a line,
I must hear forevermore
Voices underground,
Slimy voices, grimy voices
Voices from a choked Inferno:
"Worms can't cry!" they plead to me—
"Worms can't cry!"
"Worms can't cry!"

Wring the heart within my bosom,
Fill it full of lead;
I who stride the upland hills
Traffic with the dead
Who stand and wait for bread,
The living dead who day and night
In terrifying press
Beat against the earth's core
Their bitter-keen distress:
"Worms can't cry," they signal me—
"Worms can't cry,"
"Worms can't cry."

But hot against a red, red sky
A hotter silence sears;
(I cannot shut my ears)
In dull and steady rhythmic beats
It batters down the years;
Oh fearfully, oh tearfully
It finds the hidden heart of me
That tries with hate and doubt
To comprehend the tidal stream
Of what a worm can't shout:
"Worms can't cry," it wells to me—
"Worms can't cry,"
"Worms can't cry."

How long may I enjoy the sun,
How long the swinging sky?
How long may I be counted one
Who safely sits on high
Where silken, soothing music sounds
From flute and violin
Or dreadful shrieks that pass for joy
Prolong a godless din?
(Hey nonny, nonny and a hot-cha-cha
Howr'ye baby? Can't we be friends?
And I don't mean maybe
Baby . . . maybe . . .)
The damned noise ends,
Blends with the chorus far, far down
That writhes in a nightmare
About the town;
Up and down where the wildest lights
Shrilling the gayety of strumpet nights
Cannot drown, cannot drown
A bitter silence louder than drums:
"Worms can't cry," it calls to me—
"Worms can't cry,"
"Worms can't cry."

But I can (poor dust)
And I must.

ELIAS LIEBERMAN

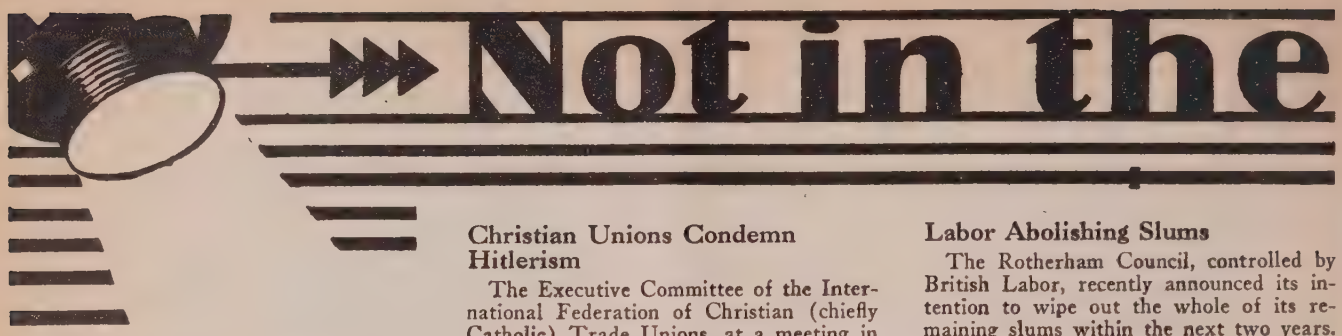
The Virgil Club

"THE Virgil Club" at Great Ridge Park—
Their house perched like Noah's Ark—
Have planted Druid stones
Around an oak.
The membership are short and dark
And talk in rapid foreign tones,
A crazy folk.

"The East Shore Club," next point, are white.
They watch for ducks and scaup in flight
And have a willow blind
And live decoys.
They're average or more in height
And, by an instinct undefined,
Virgil annoys.

It talks before its shack all day
With gestures; or the younger play
A foolish sort of ball.
They never shoot
Clapper or bluebill in the bay,
Illiterate of rightful Fall,
Or teal, or coot.

DOROTHY LEONARD



German Exiles Start Magazine

Under the leadership of Klaus Mann, son of Thomas Mann, Nobel Prize winner, the intellectual leaders of Germany, most of whom are now in exile as a result of the Nazi persecutions and "Nordic" sanctions, have founded a new magazine in Amsterdam. It is to be called *Die Sammlung,* and will be published under the guidance of Heinrich Mann, André Gide, and Aldous Huxley. Among its first contributors will be Jacob Wasserman, Lion Feuchtwanger, Sinclair Lewis, Alfred Doeblin, and Romain Rolland. Selden Rodman, of *Common Sense,* is arranging contacts between American writers and editor Klaus Mann.

Mellon's Men Reject Plan

By the decisive vote of 2,779 to 810, workers at Andrew Mellon's Aluminum Company of America plant in New Kensington, suburb of Pittsburgh, rejected the company union proposed by the firm. Their vote has killed the company union plan for all aluminum workers throughout the country.

Russian Fascisti

In attacking the NRA, Senator Hatfield, West Virginia Old Guard, likened it to communism in one breath, and to fascism in the next. He condemned it as an attempt to "transplant alien ideas from Russian to American soil." He then asserted: "I cannot further the plan of certain big business fascisti to reduce labor to a sort of serfdom by means of overwhelming power of government." The entire plan "savors more of the atmosphere of a lunatic asylum."

Rabbis' Holy Days Message

In a Rabbis' Holy Days Social Justice Message, the Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis declares: "The federal administration is engaged in a valorous effort to pump a little altruism into an acquisitive economic system. Those with real vision see clearly that, without limitations on its inherent greediness, our present economic society cannot endure. Yet, too many of those who profit by the status quo seem not wise enough to understand the basic motives of our administration. . . They see once more a trough worth dipping one's hands into. . . They have not learned their lesson."

Christian Unions Condemn Hitlerism

The Executive Committee of the International Federation of Christian (chiefly Catholic) Trade Unions, at a meeting in Strasbourg, unanimously adopted a resolution in which it vehemently "protested against the present system in Germany, with its indescribable terror." As a rule extremely cautious in international commitments, this organization's move carries more than ordinary significance as compared to the revolt of other union bodies against Nazi autocracy.

Justice by Color

A correspondent has sent us a clipping from a North Carolina newspaper giving the remarks of Judge R. Hunt Parker, of Ahoskie, concerning two cases that recently came before him: "I have had before me this week two persons charged with manslaughter. One was a Negro, the other a white boy. Of the two, the white boy is perhaps the guiltier. He has been freed, the Negro convicted. It now becomes my duty to sentence the convicted man."

Pacifism Barred by Chicago Fair

The offer of World Peaceways to exhibit "War the Super-Racket," a one-ton book, at the World's Fair was refused by Rufus Dawes, on the ground that it is controversial, despite the fact that military and naval officers have played a prominent part at the Fair from the beginning, and that such pro-war attractions as "The Battle of Gettysburg" and "Le Pantheon de la Guerre" are now being exhibited. The giant volume sponsored by World Peaceways is seven feet high and five feet wide, and is being filled with signatures to a peace pledge. Loaded on a truck, it is to be exhibited on a tour through 14 cities, beginning October 1.

They Who Serve

Domestic servants in Cleveland and vicinity have formed a union to fight wages as low as two dollars a week and unlimited hours. More than 70 of them gathered recently and organized the Household Workers Welfare Association and formulated demands of one dollar per day wages and a work-day of ten hours. Many other servants who wanted to attend and take part in the movement were refused their afternoon off when employers found out about the proposed meeting. Only one servant who attended was getting ten dollars a week. The others all received less than five dollars, while the majority received from two to three dollars for a week of 84 to 100 hours' labor.

Labor Abolishing Slums

The Rotherham Council, controlled by British Labor, recently announced its intention to wipe out the whole of its remaining slums within the next two years. Bermondsey's Council, also with a Labor Party majority, has followed with a plan to re-house 10,000 people in seven and a half years at a cost of more than a million pounds.

Communists Active on Scottsboro

Two hundred and twenty-one meetings on behalf of the Scottsboro Negroes, from coast to coast, have been arranged by the International Labor Defense (Communist) and are being held during the late summer and fall, according to Frank Spector, assistant national secretary.

Killed in Prison

T. E. Barlow, Communist candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Texas in the 1932 campaign, died September 2 in the Tarrant County jail at Fort Worth, from head wounds. He had apparently been beaten to death by police. Barlow had been arrested with two others. All three were delegates elected by a meeting of the unemployed to send a wire to Governor Miriam Ferguson protesting the stoppage of relief for 16,000 jobless and destitute workers of Fort Worth. Barlow was at first placed in a death cell, but was changed to different quarters when unemployed organizations protested in large numbers.

Krueger Spikes Misrepresentation

Maynard C. Krueger, delegate of the Socialist Party of America to the Labor and Socialist International conference held at Paris in August, has requested attorneys to file a praecipe against the Chicago *Tribune* for a suit based on an editorial entitled "Suggestions from an Educator" in the issue of that paper dated August 29. The *Tribune* editorial is based on a dispatch from its own correspondent in Paris, who learned from a "trustworthy source" that "four out of the six American delegates headed by Professor Maynard C. Krueger of Chicago, all advocates of direct action," submitted "a proposal to the International to arm workers of the United States and all other countries with rifles, revolvers and machine guns in order to enable them to meet the universal menace of fascism." The same story was played up prominently on the front page of the *Tribune's* Paris edition.

Headlines

Plenty of Cash

So excessive are the reserves of investors' capital that the Government of the United States was offered, on August 30, four times as much money as it desired to borrow, at the amazingly low interest rate of one-seventh of one per cent annually on 91-day Treasury bills.

22 Millions Lost

A grand jury investigation in Detroit revealed the fact that when the First National Bank closed its doors on February 13, it had outstanding loans to its own officers and directors, and their companies, of more than 22 million dollars. "A large portion seems lost for good."

Discrimination in Education

The maximum salary for Negro teachers in the grade schools of North Carolina has been set at $70 per month, or $560 per year, as compared with $720 for white teachers of the same training and experience. Under the new schedule of salaries, Negro teachers in their first year will receive $322 annually, reports the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Minister Run Out of Town

The Reverend E. D. Hughes, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, of Selma, Alabama, was given 24 hours to get out of town, reports the N. A. A. C. P. When he refused to give his approval to a proposed code in which wages for colored men were set at $9.50 per week, Mr. Hughes was waited upon by 30 white men who informed him that he was not the type of citizen that they desired, and warned him to leave town without delay.

Terzani Out on Bail

Athos Terzani, young anti-fascist worker accused of killing his comrade, Anthony Fierro, in a fight which broke up a meeting of the fascist Khaki Shirts of America in Astoria, L. I., on July 14, was recently released on bail after spending 47 days in the county jail. It is hoped that Clarence Darrow, veteran Chicago lawyer, will be one of the defense attorneys. Arthur Garfield Hays has agreed to serve. Darrow and Hays helped to acquit Calogero Greco and Donato Carrillo, also anti-fascists, who were accused of murder in 1927. Darrow was urged to aid Terzani's defense by Norman Thomas. Terzani has been heartened by hearing that District Attorney Charles Colden of Queens had agreed to investigate new evidence tending to show that a member of the Khaki Shirts was the actual slayer.

Railroads Are Helped

Among the industries most aided so far by the NRA, 149 Class I railroads report that their net operating income in July, 1933, was 470 per cent higher than in the same month last year, the net income increasing from 11 millions to 64 millions.

"Yipsels" Growing

Reports at the recent annual conference of the Young Peoples Socialist League at Reading, Pennsylvania, showed that there are 204 groups of the "Yipsels" throughout the country.

Attention of Unemployed!

A Fifth Avenue merchant in New York City advertises in the daily press that he has a choice line of mink coats at bargain prices varying from $58 to $14,500, while the highest price listed in *Vogue* by a Chicago firm is only $5,000.

Slums to be Studied

The Phelps-Stokes Fund announced this week that a comprehensive and intensive study of slums and blighted areas is being undertaken. Professor James Ford of Harvard will be in charge of the investigation, which is expected to require 18 months for completion.

Face Trial for Deporting Negroes

Governor Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania has written A. B. DeCastrique, Beaver County attorney, demanding that he prosecute county officials on charges of kidnapping 46 Negroes last January and deporting them to West Virginia. According to the Governor, the failure to prosecute is deliberate violation of the law. An investigation by William Schnader, attorney general of the State, revealed that the deportations were conducted brutally, without offense by the Negroes, who were simply loaded into trucks and carted away under armed guard, being instructed to keep out of the State for two years.

P. O. Versus NRA

"The sooner Postmaster General Farley gets in step with the rest of the country on the recovery program, the better for all Americans," said Congressman Clyde Kelley, of Pennsylvania, to the recent convention of letter carriers. "While the nation is putting up the Blue Eagle, as the emblem of shorter hours, higher wages, and more jobs," he said, "the postoffice department has been sitting aside watching the parade." Postal employees have openly been charging that sweatshop conditions exist in their department, where substitute carriers and clerks, they insist, are earning as little as six dollars a week.

Farm-Laborites to Run Again

Governor Floyd B. Olson of Minnesota will run for a third term next year, he has announced. William Mahoney, mayor of St. Paul, will run for a second term next spring.

Fourteen-Cent Code

After the laundry owners' organizations had submitted a revised code offering a minimum of 20 cents an hour for a 45-hour maximum work-week for women in the South, negotiations at NRA headquarters resulted in their getting approval for a reduction of this rate to 14 cents an hour, or $6.30 a week. This is only slightly above the rate which caused a storm of protest at the end of July, resulting in many hasty cancellations of the proposed code. Unofficial explanation of this low wage for Southern laundry workers is, according to the Federated Press Washington correspondent, that if a decent wage were offered, Negro women would lose their jobs to white women; and that if high wages were established in steam laundries, their business would be ruined by competition from individual Negro washwomen.

Military Training Vetoed

Following protests from organized labor, pacifist and progressive organizations, Governor A. G. Schmedeman of Wisconsin has vetoed the bill restoring compulsory military training in the University of Wisconsin. The vetoed legislation would have replaced the optional military training now offered and made "instruction and discipline in military tactics" mandatory upon all first and second year men.

Banks Close in Bridgeport

An ominous lack of publicity attended the closing of three banks about September first in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Two leading banks, the Commercial Bank and Trust Company and the American Bank and Trust Company, were closed by order of the State Banking Commission. The West Side Bank did not open its doors, having requested an order to close. Many leading business and professional men were on the board of directors. Among the banks' depositors were a great many city workers. The closings have been marked by extreme reticence on the part of all hands concerned. Bridgeport Socialists feel that their chances of capturing the city in the fall election have been made perhaps somewhat brighter. In 1931 the Socialists displaced the Republicans as the runner-up party, failing of election by only some 2,000 votes and running 6,000 ahead of the Republican ticket.

State Farmer-Labor Parties

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

THE conference which was held in Chicago under the auspices of the League for Independent Political Action on September 2 and 3 may have some fruitful results. It was originally designed as a meeting to which unions, farm organizations, coöperatives, the Socialist Party and other struggling third party movements would send, if not accredited delegates, at least influential representatives. This hope was defeated by the action of the unions on the one hand and of the Socialist Party on the other. The degree of success which the unions obtain in their struggle to organize depends so largely on the goodwill of the Roosevelt administration as expressed through the NRA that they are evidently determined not to give offense by participating in a third party movement at this time. Even the so-called radical unions, like the Amalgamated and the International Ladies' Garment Workers, were evidently under the Democratic spell and gave the conference a very wide berth. The Socialist Party showed its coöperative spirit in turn by virtually boycotting the conference. Many of the leaders of that party seem indeed to have developed a fierce animosity against the L. I. P. A., whose aid, however, they do not scorn to accept during political campaigns.

In spite of these difficulties, the conference attracted not only about 150 individual liberals but, even more important, numerous representatives from the radical political groups of the Northwest. From the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, which now dominates the politics of that state, there was a group headed by Mayor William Mahoney of St. Paul. From Wisconsin came a number of the Progressive leaders, of whom the most prominent was former Congressman Thomas R. Amlie, who delivered the ablest address of the conference. State Treasurer Alfred Dale of North Dakota, a leader in the Non-Partisan League of that state, participated, as did a number of reputable farm leaders from Iowa and South Dakota.

The conference very sensibly went on record as favoring the formation of state farmer-labor parties wherever possible and set up a Farmer-Labor Federation, with both individual and group membership, into which the L. I. P. A. will, in all probability, dissolve. After a debate it voted to refuse membership to individual members of the Communist or Workers' Party or to organizations affiliated with it. This move was opposed by most of the New York delegates, under the leadership of the C. P. L. A., which is now very close to the Communists, but their protests were, with great good sense, overruled. For had this step not been taken, the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party would have abandoned the conference.

Whether the new movement has any chance for utility depends on developments in the Northwest and hinges indeed upon the situation in Wisconsin, the Dakotas and Iowa. In Wisconsin there can be no doubt that the La Follettes are in a very hot spot so far as their continuance inside the Republican Party is concerned. They have in the past owed their victories in the Republican primaries to aid given by the Democrats. Now that the Wisconsin Democrats have a party of their own, they are staying at home to participate in their own struggle for power. It is the judgment of most disinterested observers that this leaves the conservatives numerically predominant over the progressives inside the Republican Party and that the LaFollettes will be decisively defeated if they try to run in the Republican primaries. What then are they to do? While President Roosevelt and Jim Farley would beyond question like to have them become Democrats, the Wisconsin Democratic leaders have no such desire. For they want to keep the governorship and the senatorship for themselves. It is possible that the LaFollettes may therefore decide to do what many of their friends are advising, namely to form an open alliance with the Socialists and labor groups and launch a new party. If this happens, the results will be of great importance.

In North Dakota also the prospects are favorable. The Non-Partisan League is again in power, but it has been deserted by Governor Langer, and in order to free itself from him it may turn Farmer-Labor instead of continuing as Republican. In South Dakota tens of thousands of farmers are close to starvation, while there is great distress also in Iowa. The seeds of revolt are present in both of these states, and over the years an independent movement may well develop.

If the new Farmer-Labor Federation seizes this opportunity, moves its headquarters to Minneapolis or St. Paul and works hard in these Northwestern states, it has the opportunity of helping in the creation of a new and powerful radical party. If it sticks to the sterile political soil of New York, however, it will, unless the Roosevelt regime breaks down, inevitably weaken and, in the not distant future, die. There is no chance for a new national party at this time, but in the Northwest there is a chance for strong state parties. It is in that soil alone that the Farmer-Labor Federation can at present take root.

That Worker-Peasant Deadlock

H. N. BRAILSFORD

DEMOCRACY and socialism in Austria are passing through an hour of agony as I write. Events are moving swiftly, and to discuss them in any detail would be foolish on my part, for much may happen while my article is crossing the Atlantic. A more complicated, a more nicely balanced situation in politics I never knew. Prediction is impossible, and because the complications are so manifold, it would be conceivable that nothing at all might happen were it not that the Nazis, judging by their temperament and record, are bound, sooner or later, to put everything to the test of decisive action.

Chancellor Dollfuss has at last gone openly and publicly Fascist. It is, to be sure, a peculiar Austro-Italian brand of this creed of violence and reaction. Mussolini inspired it rather than Hitler. But it is devoutly Catholic, whereas Italian fascism was originally anti-clerical, and came to terms with the Church only for reasons of convenience. It is also monarchist, whereas Italian fascism was republican until it found a use for a weak King. In essentials, however, there is no real difference between the Austrian, German and Italian brands. All of them loathe democracy, all of them are bitterly hostile to organized labor, all of them are nationalist and militarist, all of them are demagogic, all of them in the long run obey big business or finance.

The main difference is that the Austrian brand relies chiefly on the peasants and has young aristocrats at its head, whereas the German and Italian movements sprang mainly from the small middle class. The difficulty of the Austrian movement is that its nationalism is artificial and parochial. There is no Austrian nationality: there is no Austrian sentiment. By race, culture and language this little country is German. At the most it has a half-humorous jealousy and contempt for the rough North—the sort of feeling that Boston, New York and Chicago entertain toward each other. Vienna has a gracious individuality of its own, and would not like to be absorbed by Protestant Berlin. But against all that is non-German they stand together. The aristocrats, however, make a complication. Spiritually they still live in the vanished Habsburg Court, and wish to restore it, and with it as much of the old empire as they can scrape together. But if they hope to do that, they must resist the case for union with Germany. The Austrian Nazis are not hampered by this aristocratic baggage. Like the Germans, they are mainly of the middle class, and have no use for national independence, save that they would enjoy the thrill of losing it.

What we are watching today is a vivid drama of intrigue. Hitler would rush Austria, rape it, seize it, if he dared—but the Allied Powers and the well-armed Little Entente would stop him. France would like to preserve something of democracy in Austria, but, save for the Socialists, there are no democrats to support. Italy very astutely helps Austria to go Fascist, but with an Italian rather than a German orientation. Chancellor Dollfuss, who is, I take it, an energetic but otherwise uninteresting opportunist, leans chiefly on Mussolini and the Pope; but dare not forget the Bank of France and the Bank of England. He must fight the Nazis, yet he dare not seem anti-German and a mere tool of foreigners. So he tries now to bring together Austrian Nazis and Monarchist-Clerical Fascists (meaning chiefly the party militia, the Heimwehr, led by Prince Starhemberg), on some sort of compromising official Austrian Fascist program. It is vague as yet, but it is clear that the Parliament will go, the Trade Unions with it, and presumably the Socialist municipality of Vienna. But how long will Dollfuss survive?

THE fate of the Austrian Socialists concerns all of us in the European movement very deeply. They are better led than the Germans ever were; they have more spirit and intelligence, and like true Viennese, they care for culture. Their work in running the municipality of the capital, where alone they had some scope, has been an inspiration to us all—in spite of the city's incredible poverty. They failed, however, in the main task of making Austria Socialist, and in their case the Communist feud is not the explanation. It matters as little in Austria as in England.

The explanation is that socialism cannot hope to win Catholic peasants. How could it? Centuries of thought and experience separate the workers of Vienna from the little farmers of the Alpine valleys. They do not work together as a team. They were never moulded by labor unions. They are, moreover, unshakably loyal to the Church, which keeps their thinking disciplined and limited. In Vienna the Socialists can poll over 60 per cent of the electorate. In the smaller towns they also have a big following. But in rural Austria they barely exist. Over the country as a whole their poll creeps up slowly, election by election, through the thirties in percentages. It is hardly possible that it should ever reach or pass fifty per cent.

And yet there is in Europe no more energetic or better organised party.

In one degree or another we are all in the same case, for the same reason. A Protestant peasantry is not quite so unapproachable as a Catholic one. In England we have very few peasants (meaning small owners who employ no laborers), but the laborers are so isolated and intimidated that it is rarely possible to organise them, and the smaller farmers are mainly tenants in the grip of landlords and dealers. The result is that though in England, Denmark and Sweden Socialist environments have existed or exist, and a relative Socialist majority can be won, an absolute majority is barely attainable. It is mathematically unattainable in England unless we can win some of the genuinely agricultural counties, and that is at present hardly thinkable. The Germans faced the same difficulty, though in the early days of the revolution they might perhaps have overcome it if they had dared to break up the great Prussian estates. In France a Socialist majority, even if the Communist feud were healed, is probably for all time impossible. The peasant vote is decisive.

WHAT, then, are we to say? Lie back in our democratic easy chairs, enjoy their comfort and security, vow that we will never be so base as to abandon them, and consequently postpone the winning of socialism for all time? Or shall we grope about for new slogans and new methods of propaganda that might possibly some day capture a few agricultural seats? Or must we kick over our democratic easy chairs, and coerce the country, as the Russian city workers did and are doing with painful and unpredictable consequences? That means, of course, a violent revolution.

Strange to say, we have hardly begun to think seriously about this problem of the individualist countryside. I cannot describe the accepted solution: we have not got one. But I will attempt to outline some thoughts that are passing through my own mind.

We are resolved to retain democracy in some honest shape. But are we bound for ever to the system of territorial representation that came down to us from the middle ages? For a system of occupational representation there is much in theory to be said—and also much against it. It has this supreme theoretical advantage: that some common will, arising out of their association in common tasks, is generated when men meet together in workshop and factory and choose a representative from among themselves. When, on the other hand, the lonely individual walks out of his little dwelling to the poll, one among scores of thousands in an immense electoral area, and in his isolation makes his mark on a ballot paper against names that mean next to nothing to him, is any common will generated? At best, the working of the herd mind is registered as it reacts to costly propaganda.

IF we consent, then, to look at this idea of an occupational Parliament—you may call it a soviet if you prefer to use a Russian word—we may have in it a solution of the worker and peasant difficulty. The agricultural contingent in such a House would not in England or in Germany dominate the whole, though it would hold a big block of votes. The rural workers (railwaymen, carmen, postmen and the rest) would vote with their fellows in the towns. One might, in a country like France or Austria, where agriculture is of great importance, set up two chambers, one for agriculture and one for industry. One might have to retain the territorial parliament in countries like England where it enjoys traditional prestige, assigning to it many important functions—defence, communications, justice, police, education, health, the regulation of local government and foreign affairs. But the control of industry and the working out of a Socialist plan would be left to the occupational House. Most of the actual work would fall to committees composed of the representatives of each industry, while the whole House would deal with the general plan, and with the balancing of production and consumption. The managerial and clerical staffs should doubtless have separate representation. All this is, of course, no new proposal. It figures in the constitution for a Socialist Commonwealth drafted by the Webbs. But I do not think it has yet been approached from the point of view of a reconciliation of the divergent interests and viewpoints of peasants and workers. It might end their mutual frustration by giving to each the self-government they value.

It is surely an abuse of democracy that two groups, living and working apart, should dictate to each other. They are not merely physically and morally apart: they live in different centuries. Democracy, I think, would counsel that each should go its own way. They need come together only when the affairs of a still largely individualist agriculture must be fitted, with the concerns of a mainly socialised industry, into a general national plan.

Who's Who in This Issue

William Pickens is field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Elias Lieberman is principal of the Thomas Jefferson High School in Brooklyn and the author of several volumes of verse.

Helen Grace Murray is a secretary of the Congregational Education Society.

Paul E. Pfuetze is a prominent leader of the Student Christian Movement.

Edwin T. Buehrer is pastor of the First Congregational Church of Haworth, N. J.

What the Grasshopper Leaves

HELEN G. MURRAY

FOUR weeks ago I sat on the veranda of a small-town Montana home near the North Dakota border, listening to the everyday story of an everyday professional man who year after year tries to eke out his constantly diminishing salary by raising a garden.

"The black fleas took the radishes and turnips," he said simply. "The gray aphis took the rutabagas, the horseradish and the kohlrabi, and the grasshoppers are taking the rest."

Some three thousand years ago a Hebrew poet reflected in like manner upon a like situation:

Hear this, old men,
And give ear, all the inhabitants of the land.
Tell your children of it
And let your children tell their children.
What the palmer-worm left, the locust has eaten;
What the locust left, the grasshopper has eaten;
And what the grasshopper left the destroyer is eating. . . .
The fields are devastated, the ground mourns,
Because the grain is laid waste.

Who mourns today in the United States that hundreds of thousands of acres of our Midwestern and Western farming country are devastated by the third year of drought, a drought which might successfully have been combated by adequate and publicly-owned irrigation systems? Irrigation has never been developed to anything like its full and necessary capacity, and to a large extent in the hands of private profit-demanding corporations have we placed the control of the water leases and pumping rights for the land in such zones as are partially irrigated. But that is another story. The question that concerns me now is rather, Who mourns that what the drought leaves, the black fleas, the gray aphis and the grasshoppers have eaten? Who indeed?

Certainly not those upon whom rests responsibility for farm relief. From the point of view of our new national economy, droughts and pests are not misfortunes to be lamented but blessings for which a grateful people should offer grateful thanks. On June 14, when the signs of the times pointed unmistakably to what normally would be considered a national calamity, an editorial correspondent of the New York *Times*, writing from Nebraska, voiced thus the official gratification over, and gratitude for, sure crop-failures:

> The Administration's farm-relief measure came along too late for specific application to the 1933 wheat crop, but nature stepped in and did, in her severe and partial way, what Secretary Wallace has had in mind doing in a more orderly fashion about crop limitation and solution of the problem of surpluses. First there was one of those bleak Winters without the kindly protection of a blanket of snow which killed out a large part of the crop. Terrific Spring winds followed which literally blew out of the ground much of what the Winter had left. Finally, for that which had escaped cold and wind there was blistering heat to cause the kernels in the pulpy stage to shrivel and lose weight.

Ten days later in the same paper Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace expressed the same sentiments even more definitely and conclusively:

> We have been blessed with some extraordinarily bad weather in the Winter wheat belt, and the outlook for that crop is the worst it has been in twenty years. Prospects are for a Winter wheat crop of 337,000,000 bushels, as compared with a normal crop of about 580,000,000 bushels. Probably the total wheat crop in the United States this year will not exceed 600,000,000 bushels, as compared with an average of about 850,000,000 bushels.
>
> That might let us breathe much easier, and relieve us of the necessity for reducing acreage next Fall, were it not for the carryover of 360,000,000 bushels and the stimulus of the recent rise in price to increased planting. The probabilities are that the total wheat supplies next August will be about average. . . Unless we engage in a program of acreage reduction next Fall, the Summer of 1934 will again find the wheat grower in serious trouble.

AIDED, then, by a bleak winter, devastating spring, winds and blistering summer heat, abetted by the black fleas, the gray aphis and the grasshoppers—if we can be made to accept the monstrous paradox—we can believe ourselves well on the road to national recovery, agriculturally speaking. The worst crop outlook in years has become the best crop outlook of which our new economic policy can conceive. American farmers will get for their wheat this year nearly double what they were paid for a much larger crop a year ago. That is, those who *have* any wheat will get nearly double. Those who, by the acts of God known as droughts and insect plagues, have no wheat nor anything else to show for their labors, although their failures and misfortunes are the real basis of this new agricultural prosperity of ours, will of course get nothing at all.

"Prosperity through scarcity," Mary Van Kleeck scathingly calls it, commenting upon this new and amazing economic theory of ours that prosperity is to be attained not through promoting maximum production to raise standards of living but rather through reducing

production and productive capacity to the lowest possible minimum. In agriculture we have agreed that this shall amount even to active crop-destruction as well as to the passive consent to crop failures. What this does to the living standards of the hundreds of thousands—even millions—involved (both producers and consumers) is something seemingly quite aside from from the point.

About June 15 we visited a typical South Dakota farm home, in 1928 a prosperous and happy center of family life. The small grains—wheat, oats, barley—were being ploughed under. The farmer intended to plant millet because if that were a decent crop it would mean hay to winter his stock. The usual hay crop was an absolute failure. There was literally nothing in the garden. We asked why water was not carried from the well for the garden. It was alkali, he said, and would ruin the soil. Practically the only thing he had for sale was eggs. The drought and the grasshoppers hadn't—yet—eaten the hens. Certain market restrictions, however, were eating any possible profits to be looked for from the eggs. These had to be of a certain size, perfect ovals, had to have no roughnesses on the shell, had to be absolutely clean, and not over 36 hours old. Such would be considered "firsts." They must be packed in crates and carried 25 miles to the city, where they could be sold for eight or nine cents a dozen—in trade. No money in such transactions passes through the farmer's hands. If the eggs couldn't quite measure up on all the requirements for "firsts," they were considered "seconds" and brought only five or six cents a dozen. If they couldn't measure up for either "firsts" or "seconds," one took what he could get for them—probably not more than two or three cents a dozen.

WHAT the grasshoppers leave, the bankers and the insurance companies, farm loans and liens and rents and mortgages consume today. One insurance company alone in the last two years has acquired 350,000 acres in that section, through foreclosure of mortgages, it might be remarked in passing. It is not difficult to understand why. Sixty-five dollars for every acre of South Dakota farm land represents the principal of South Dakota's private and public indebtedness. All the wealth produced on these farms this year cannot possibly meet the interest charges, although 30 per cent of the farmer's under-cost-of-production income goes for taxes. In North Dakota some 60 per cent of the farmers have been dispossessed by mortgage foreclosures or tax sales. In North and South Dakota, Oklahoma, Nebraska and Montana nearly 125,000 farmers have been on the Red Cross relief rolls, and there are thousands of others who have lived on the charity of friends and relatives. In areas like these more than the ground mourns because the grain is laid waste. Dakota farmers are under no delusion about prosperity through scarcity. They know that to them such prosperity means ruin.

Over-production has always been, after all, a relative and misleading term. Back in 1931 Julius Klein, of the United States Department of Commerce, pointed out that the world's production of wheat and rye was then estimated at 6,172,000,000 bushels and that the world's potential consumption of these cereals on the United States standard (which is very low) is estimated at 7,677,000,000. The deficiency of production is thus seen to be at least 1,500,000,000 bushels, or about one-fourth of the actual production. In the world, exclusive of China (for which statistics are unattainable) the deficiency in wheat alone in 1931 was estimated at 3,000,000,000 bushels. In 1933 (on August 25 to be exact) the international wheat agreement signed by 21 of the principal wheat producing and consuming countries of the world cuts production to a new low. The agreement limits the combined exports of the four chief producing countries—Argentina, Australia, Canada and the United States—to 560,000,000 bushels during the coming year, and curtails the acreage devoted to production for export in each of these countries by 15 per cent in 1934-1935. Similarly, the Danubian countries undertake to restrict their exports to a maximum of 50,000,000 bushels annually, and the Soviet Union to a maximum that has still to be determined. On August 28, as a result of this pact, Secretary Wallace announced that American farmers will be required to reduce their wheat acreage by 15 per cent in 1933-1934.

ACTUAL consumption, with millions in fear of starving (the reality), and potential consumption, with these same scores of millions fed (the ideal) are not to be confused. And until we have realized the ideal let us not lightly or foolishly talk of over-production.

Plow under such wheat and corn and barley and oats as manage to survive the bad winters, the devastating spring winds, the summer droughts, pray for the blessing of more "extraordinarily bad weather," hang medals on the black fleas, the aphis and the grasshoppers as star coöperators in prosperity (1933 model), sing a song of salvation through curtailed production and wholesale crop destruction the world over. But let us not deceive ourselves. We who pray for the droughts and welcome the grasshoppers will sooner or later inevitably find ourselves praying for and welcoming a day of darkness, not of light, a day of dense shadows with no brightness in it. Prosperity through scarcity may serve the grain speculators and the bankers. But for the hundreds of millions of farmers and industrial laborers, of *producers* the world over, such a policy spells ruin and starvation and death.

The fields are devastated, the ground mourns,
Because the grain is laid waste.

Hope for the Red Man

PAUL E. PFUETZE

AMID the welter of codes, executive orders and NRA tub-thumping, one feature of the New Deal has almost escaped public notice. In the confusion of processing taxes and the destruction of agricultural surpluses, the Indian Bureau has also gone reformist. There is a new Commissioner in the person of John Collier; and he has introduced a new spirit and purpose in the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Ever since those Dutch traders bought Manhattan Island for $24, some shiny trinkets and a bottle of gin, the red man has been systematically, thoroughly robbed and despoiled. The white man has used every known excuse—legal, philosophical, patriotic—or none at all to justify and extenuate his ruthless spoliation of the American Indian. What our ancestors (such insatiable gentlemen as John Jacob Astor) did to the original possessors of this continent makes a horrible chapter in our history—a chapter usually not taught in the public schools.

The government has not always fulfilled its treaties with the Indians. Promises have been broken; trusts have been betrayed; authority has been grossly abused. Individuals and whole tribes have been bilked by private citizens and exploited by government bureaucrats. Any retaliation on the part of the Indians has met with bloody reprisals and stern punishment. They have been debauched with liquor and successfully swindled by traders, settlers and even by government agents. Expenditures for bridges, roads and dams which aid the red man little if at all have been levied against tribal funds. Rich resources of oil, minerals and timber (subsequently found on reservation lands thought to be worthless) have been squandered or stolen. The Indians have been treated like children and, of late years, as curiosities to be fawned upon by sycophantic tourists. These once proud warriors have been changed into slovenly, impoverished reservation-pensioners.

The new Commissioner promises that the era of exploitation and blighting patronage is over. He does not propose that we give back what we took, which is manifestly impossible, but that we enlist the coöperation of the Indians themselves in their own rehabilitation and in restoring their former pride and spirit and dignity. It is to be Mr. Collier's policy to remodel the old bureaucracy so that the government may truly serve rather then enslave the Indians. More than that, he proposes that the Indian be treated as a normal and intelligent human being, as a potentially useful, self-supporting and competent citizen.

Commissioner Collier is a California man. He is credited with being well-informed and unselfishly devoted to the cause of giving the Indian a decent chance. He is a life-long friend of the red man, and for many years the most persistent and insistent critic of the Indian Bureau. John Collier understands the Indian, and the Indian seems to trust him. Considered by many as a fanatic, an obtrusive crusader, an idealist with rosy but too high hopes for the Indian's future, Collier has been given the task and the opportunity of fulfilling some of his dreams and schemes for improving the condition of the Indian.

JUST what does the new Commissioner plan to do? The Indian Bureau is strongly intrenched, self-satisfied and set in its ways. First of all, it is said that he intends to diminish and distribute its powers and, instead of duplicating services, to utilize all of the existing Federal and State agencies which would be helpful. Indians are perfectly capable of doing for themselves many of the things which the government now does. The new plan is to train and employ Indians for responsible positions in the Indian service. In 1932 among 6,586 members of the Bureau, only 1,750 were Indians.

In recognition of the fact that the red man is, primarily, an agriculturalist, the Commissioner hopes to persuade Congress to provide the tribes with more and better land. A good start was made this summer when Congress enacted a relief bill insuring Pueblo lands and authorizing acquisition and resettlement of large areas of land.

Perhaps the most important item in this new set-up concerns the school system. Up until now the boarding schools (accommodating only a small percentage of Indian children) have taken the youngsters away from their homes, thereby breaking up families; have made the educated Indian a stranger among his own people and, with few exceptions, have failed to give him equal status with white men. John Collier plans to establish day schools on the reservations and send good teachers and social workers into the homes. Children in Iceland are taught, and taught well, by itinerant schoolmasters. Why not our Indian youth?

It is a large order. These reforms will require new or modified laws and the system will be hard to change. Good citizens can help by lending their support to those measures and policies which purpose, after all these years, to give the American Indian a fair deal and to restore him to a self-respecting place in the national life of his country.

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drastic criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which it believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth.*

Morals and Common Sense

The Meaning of Right and Wrong. By Richard C. Cabot. Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THERE is something essentially liberating and Hellenistic in the spirit and method of this book. It might appropriately be called, "The Art of Living," and announced as a sequel to a previous volume, *What Men Live By,* from the same pen; for Professor Cabot believes that ethics is merely a fragment mistakenly torn out of the whole context of life, and that as such it can have no relevance and no meaning. "All our needs," says he, "issue from a central authoritative urge: the will to live." In this contention he is in agreement with a conspicuous array of ethical teachers throughout history. Jesus sought to give men "the abundant life"; Schopenhauer found us dominated by the will to live; Herbert Spencer and the biological tradition make self-preservation the main urge in evolution; Bergson calls this urge the *élan vital,* and Freud calls it the libido. Guyau, Croce, Unamuno and John Dewey agree that life itself is the fundamental need of man, and therefore his consummate desire. For the casual reader there may not be anything particularly startling about this, but it represents a persistent issue in religion and philosophy. If our discovery of what is right and wrong must come out of experimentation with the processes of life, rather than out of traditional authoritarianism, then a new moral outlook is in the making.

The need of analyzing in detail all the ramifying elements of human motivation and conduct, as over against the acceptance of any traditional code, is constantly stressed in this book. The author does not close his mind to the "moral principles" with which tradition has endowed us, nor would he lightly cast them aside; but he does not allow his reader to forget that the meaning of right and wrong is not static; it is volatile, changing constantly in form and expression, in accordance with the needs and circumstances of every individual and of every age. Human needs, such as work, play, love, hate, science, art, beauty, are many, and we can supply them only by facing and wrestling with the realities of our contemporary world; and since our technique necessarily varies with our needs, the author suggests scientific truth seeking, creative art, an all-absorbing task, or various educational processes as the motive power and equipment for a happy and worthwhile existence.

Life is thus a hunger, a supplying of needs, and a growth. It is static but also dynamic; it is freedom and restraint, integration and disintegration. It is forever thrusting new obstacles into our way, and forever supplying us with new tools to overcome them. Every person is born with latent interests and capacities so numerous that a thousand lifetimes would be too short for a realization of them all. Hence we must forever select and reject. Our choices, moreover, according to the intelligence or lack of intelligence with which we make them, constitute right and wrong. Shades of Socrates! Virtue has again become wisdom, and wisdom virtue. Right and wrong are inextricably entangled with everything we do or think, and to the questions, What is right? What is wrong? there is no categorical answer. Says the author: "The most obvious evidence that an act is right, then, is that some one desires it really . . . after sober reflection . . . after prayer."

In spite of the author's wide range of subject matter and his flair for realism and analytical detail, there are many glaring omissions. One wonders why he practically ignores such pressing problems as world peace, economic injustice, the strain and tension of modern life, and, let us say, the complexity of sex, marriage and family relationships. Instead of taking illustrative material from each of these fields, he turns to Joseph Conrad's *Lord Jim,* and to Victor Hugo's *Les Miserables.* One is tempted to observe that this flight to fiction betrays a form of escape from reality by the very author who condemns such escape as the essence of wrongdoing.

Nevertheless, *The Meaning of Right and Wrong* represents an exciting adventure in modern living. For those who can cut the moorings of ethical authoritarianism and achieve the necessary wisdom and courage to analyze their moral problems, it should prove as stimulating and romantic as it is necessary and worthwhile.

EDWIN T. BUEHRER

WE RECOMMEND

International Politics. By Frederick L. Schuman. McGraw-Hill Company. $4.00. It is doubtful if any living man will ever read this book—that is, read it straight through. But too much significance should not be attached to this observation. No one has ever yet read the *Encyclopedia Britannica.* The 922 pages of this volume are packed with an immense quantity of valuable data and illuminating interpretations, covering the entire range of international relations. Don't read it, just keep it about for reference purposes.

The New Boer War. By Leonard Barnes. Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Sq., London, W. C. 1. 7s., 6d. A frank and generally constructive discussion of the critical problems involved in the relations of blacks and whites in South Africa.

Woodrow Wilson, The Man Who Lives On. By John K. Winkler. The Vanguard Press. $3.50. A highly readable interpretation of one of the most enigmatic figures of history. The author moves rapidly through the numerous dramatic episodes which combined to make the wartime President unique among the men who occupied the White House. It is impossible to read this volume without being stirred to one's depths.

"It will stab the conventional Christian awake."
—*Scots Observer.*

CHRISTIANITY and COMMUNISM

H. G. WOOD

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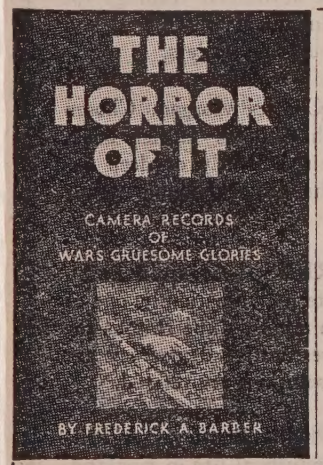

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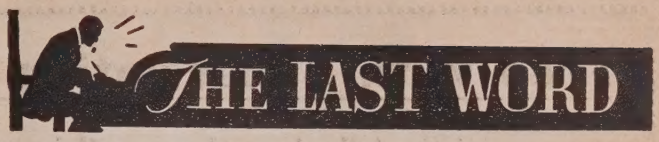

ALL my mature life I have carried around inside of me a sneaking smirk in the midst of political strife and economic warfare. For at rock bottom, I was telling myself, only the artistic and literary values count, and from the perspective of a red ant on the far rim of red Antares watching the earth gradually go red, all these petty socionomic cyclones are as whirlwinds of evanescent dust.

Consider, then, what it did to my mentality to read in the public prints that a Shakespeare scholar, Mr. J. Edward Morgan, of Alameda, California, has concluded after a life-long study of manuscripts and relevant data that Shakespeare, Bacon, and Edward VI were all one and the same person. "I do not expect to prove this," he prudently states, "but I have irrefutable proof that Bacon throughout his lifetime thought he was Edward VI."

But that is not the half of it. You see, Edward VI, according to one version of history, died of tuberculosis when aged 16. That is, if he didn't die from poisoning at the instigation of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. Elizabeth comes into the controversy, because many commentators on Bacon have assumed the seer to be her son; whereas, says Mr. Morgan, he was probably her half brother.

Now, all this is really very valuable. Just as soon as we find out who Mr. Morgan is, we shall have the key to the great riddle. Only, what great riddle?

Probably, as a matter of fact, the riddle of history. For Mr. Morgan's is the only sound way. Things are never what they seem, and the whole progress of humankind has consisted of one group of stuffed shirts (brown, black, blue, gray, or mailed) tearing the masks off somebody else whose shirt wasn't the right color. To clear this confusion up so it may be applied and understood, we have only to look at the history of our own times.

FOR example, take the Nazi government of Germany. (Where, it doesn't much matter, provided the water is deep enough.) Will not some future delver into history certainly startle the world by declaring that Hitler, Goebbels, and Goering are one and the same? He will merely show (which should not be difficult) that Goebbels really thought he was Julius Caesar, while Goering thought he was Alexander the Great, and Hitler thought he was the Almighty. "It was a neat system," this historical analyst will assert, "for every time anything happened that outsiders didn't like, each of these fictitious characters could declare that he didn't do it, it was a couple of other fellows."

Or take a look at present-day Washington. About the time the NRA has gone down into the records as a gallant effort to do the impossible, we shall have it suggested, so as to make everything plain, that Henry Ford thought he was General Johnson, and that President Roosevelt was in reality three persons—Frances Perkins, a student of social problems; Bernard Baruch, a creator of social problems; and Vincent Astor, a social problem. Or, possibly, that he was not the father of Uncle Sam's navee, but only its fond Big Brother.

It was Edward VI, by the way, who served as Mark Twain's protagonist in *The Prince and the Pauper*. Herein is a fitting symbol of capitalism's vast struggle to save itself, in which rich and poor momentarily assume a common identity. The only difference is this: that in Mr. Clemens's opus the prince is thought to be somewhat unbalanced, whereas in our modern situation we know he is. But enough! for a moment I almost fancied I was

Eccentricus

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